[P 390, A]

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in Category 5 (to like), women confine their significant interactions to the family while men have more diffuse and less strongly structured relationships. This is made quite clear by the table of significant distinctions on p. 391 (right). Only two significant distinctions occur among the male role profiles; among the female role profiles, 31 significant distinctions occur.

Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing). For men, the suspicious relatives are father's brother, father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Women have a greater number of suspicious relatives: father, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and older siblings.

Category 12 (to nag). This is a relatively undifferentiated category. For men, older sister scores higher than all other relatives. Women seem to have no outstanding relatives in this category.

Category 13 (to disapprove). The nodal category for hostility shows a remarkable similarity between male and female role profiles. The only hostile relatives, and they are only mildly hostile, are father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Female cousin may be ignored because the cousin profiles are based on but a few protocols. Category 13 for men is similar to Category 11 for men. I can offer no explanation for the concentration of hostility in older female relatives.

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Category 14 (to punish). Older relatives are most prominent in this category. Father's sister is an exception for both men and women and father's brother for women. This category, together with Categories 1 and 2, shows that father's siblings lack dominance over women.

Category 15 (to refuse help). This category emphasizes the nuclear family relationships of father, mother, son, and daughter. They are the relatives with the lowest scores.

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Category 16 (to reject). This category illustrates even more clearly than Category 15 the closeness of a person to his father, mother, son, and daughter.

Some interesting inferences can be drawn from this review of categories. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly emphasized, especially the father, mother, son, and daughter relationships. Second, neither patrilineal relatives nor matrilineal relatives receive greater emphasis; the two groups of relatives have equal importance. Third, there is an interesting difference between men and women. If Appendix D is examined, it will be seen that men have many more significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance (1-4 and 13-16) than in the categories testing submission. Women have a closer to equal number of significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance as in the categories testing for submission. In other words, men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence and that Washo women may have made a more satisfactory adjustment to modern conditions than have the men.

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This inference receives support from my observations. Men seemed less inclined to put themselves in

1/2 [see cat. 116, p. 387, A -- Am.]

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a situation where their egos could be threatened. For example, they were more reluctant to be interviewed and to take the role profile test.

The apparent differences in the adjustment of Washo men and women resemble the different adjustments to modern conditions made by men and women among the Saulteaux and Ojibwa. Hallowell made a study of acculturation and personality changes among the Saulteaux and concluded that women are better adjusted than men because the male aspects of culture have changed more through acculturation (1942, p. 48). Caudill studied the psychological characteristics of acculturated Ojibwa and also concluded that women seem to make a more satisfactory adjustment to the conditions of modern life than do men (1949, p. 425). The Washo role data can be interpreted as supporting the psychological studies of Hallowell and Caudill.

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ROLE BEHAVIOR AND THE NEW TERMINOLOGICAL SYSTEM

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The data from the role profile test support the inferences presented at the beginning of this chapter. The table of significant distinctions in Appendix II (p. 395, top) presents the relevant data. As predicted: (1) there are no significant distinctions between either the roles of mother's brother and father's brother or the roles of brother's child and sister's child; and (2) the roles of cousins are well distinguished from the roles of siblings. Older brother and younger brother are both distinguished from male cousin seven times. Older sister is distinguished from female cousin nine times; younger sister is distinguished from female cousin three times. That cousins are well distinguished from siblings while mother's brother resembles father's brother and brother's child is similar to sister's child can be clearly seen from figures 2 to 9 on pp. 372-375.

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The inference that the roles associated with the stable parts of the kinship terminology all differ significantly from each other is supported reasonably well by the test data. However, there are five apparent exceptions: no significant distinctions exist between the roles of father and mother, son and daughter, younger brother and younger sister, mother's brother and older brother, and mother's brother and father's sister. The first three exceptions can be easily explained. These relatives are nuclear family members of opposite sex and the same generation. They do not differ in the qualities of their roles, but the sex distinction makes for significant differences in the content of the roles. However, the similarity in the qualities of the roles of father and mother and son and daughter is not ignored in the kinship terminology, for the Washo have two terms meaning "parent" and one meaning "child." In only two instances does role behavior fail to agree with terminological usage: mother's brother is not distinguished from either older brother or father's sister. Consequently, of the 120 possible comparisons among the roles of the three generations studied, 118 support the assumption of a close fit of role and terminological system.

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Since the terminological system is apparently changing in the face of a relatively stable social structure, at least some of the causes of this change lie outside social organization. What are the cultural causes which appear capable of modifying Washo role behavior so as to produce the emerging system of kinship terminology? In the case of the cousin terms, we must seek

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

than sheepish about it. The mistake was ritualistic rather than musical alone, and from this standpoint it seemed to make a great deal of difference; it was clearly a mistake and it was commented upon by others as indicating a lack of attention, or flippancy, or worse, depending upon what the listener felt about the singer.

It is at least possible that the singer's mistake in this case was brought about by nervousness. The person involved had been the victim of a faulty tape recorder—the tape was blank after his first rendition of songs, and this threw him into a state of terrified depression which was only partially relieved when the songs came out perfectly on second try. Other evidences of nervousness appeared in jocular or serious remarks addressed to or about the machine —a mistake was made "maybe because I was lazy or worried about that tape recorder."

Any errors made were exploited by rival musicians. In the case noted above, the singer's chief rival remarked: "Maybe that machine don't want your songs; maybe the medicine won't let those songs get taken down." In the cases of two leading singers who drummed for each other, both remarked semi-privately that it had been difficult to sing because of the poor drumming—"X was hitting all over the place. It threw me off and I made a lot of mistakes"; "Y had his thumb wrong; the sound was too open"; "I had a hard time keeping up with him; he was getting ahead of me all the time." Such rivalry is sometimes verbalized directly—"maybe he was trying to mess up my singing" —and in general it seems to be one of the means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists. It is expected that one person expresses his feelings about another by the way he either "helps" or "holds him back" in singing.

Values

There are some values in respect to Washo Peyote music which may be directly listed; they are those most frequently and clearly verbalized.

1. The most important thing about a song is that it is like a prayer. It has a unity and power of its own which cannot be "broke into parts."
2. Songs are gifts of Peyote and should be taken for what they are, rather than being talked about and analyzed.
3. Singing a song at the wrong time, or talking about it, may spoil it so that it loses its power.
4. Certain songs are to be admired for their intricacy, and the singer who can learn them is also admired.

On a somewhat different plane are other values, which are expressed as:

1. There is a certain length of time a song should be sung to feel right; it has to build up a certain amount of emotion and concentration in the singer and the listener.
2. "He drags the song out a little too long, like he don't want to let go of it. You can waste a song that way."
3. "He liked that song, I guess. He sang it good and he feels good. You can tell that.

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cure his wife. When she died, he broke the taboo against eating salt and died. [263]
The fourth successful case did involve an attempt at social control. A father [784]
and daughter did not get along because the daughter was supporting the father. [626]
The daughter complained and the father threatened suicide. He repeated the
threat a day later and the daughter told him to do whatever he wanted. The
father took his gun and shot himself below the chin. This method of suicide
is not typical and was clearly inappropriate, because it gave the daughter no
chance to change her behavior.

Hank Pete says that he has heard many threats of suicide and that peo- 762
ple do this, "to scare money from old parents." Pete also says that men at- 626
tempt suicide more often than women, who just leave home when interpersonal 562
difficulties arise. The destruction of the self is an ultimate threat, and the
fact that men are more likely to invoke it than women indicates a lack of male
authority in Washo culture. This same characteristic of the male role was
revealed in an analysis of role behavior by kinsmen among the modern Washo.
"... Men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as
clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women
see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as
clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication [157]
that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence...." (Freed, 1960, 370). We
believe that the lack of male self-confidence is a modern phenomenon and can-
not be projected into the past. The reason probably is that males have a more [154]
difficult time adjusting to modern conditions than women. This has been noted
in other American Indian hunting-gathering tribes (Hallowell, 1942, 48;
Caudill, 1949, 425). In the case of the Washo, the main difficulties of the men
may be due to seasonal unemployment and lack of economic opportunities. Of
the five cases of violence against the self involving attempts at social control,
three were by men; of these three, two were motivated by complaints by wom-
en that a male relative was making no economic contribution.

We suspect that among the modern Washo the use of alcoholic beverages 762
has partially replaced the threat of suicide in interpersonal relations. Bertha 273
Holbrook commented, "Nobody commits suicide today -- instead they begin 177
drinking." Alcohol probably has many functions in modern Washo culture; its 626
role as a means to control the behavior of relatives is possibly a minor one.
If the control of relatives is one of the functions of alcohol, its effectiveness
is based on different culture patterns than is the effectiveness of suicide. Sui-
cide controls through the fear of ghosts; drinking may control through fear of
the direct aggression of the drunken person, especially because the Washo be-
come hostile and aggressive when they are drinking. It is possible that a per-
son may die from overindulgence in alcohol or may be killed in a drunken
brawl and thus become a ghost, but this is infrequent and therefore a minor
consideration.

WASHO WITCHCRAFT: A TEST OF THE FRUSTRATION-AGGRESSION HYPOTHESIS[1]

by Philip E. Leis

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The belief in witchcraft has frequently been interpreted psychologically as a socially approved means for releasing aggressions. The very nature of group life requires that individual desires be restrained -- "frustrated," and the aggressive responses toward the frustrating objects, such as parents, redirected to a sorcerer or some other scapegoat-like being. Whether individuals actually indulge in witchcraft is beside the point; the fact that members of a society believe in its existence is sufficient for them to vent their spleen against the real or imaginary sorcerers. The relation between frustration and aggression was stated as a hypothesis by Dollard and his associates (1939, 1) as follows: "The occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrawise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some forms of aggression." This statement was later modified by one of its authors, who recognized that there were several different types of responses to frustration (Miller, 1941, 338), but the point with which we are primarily concerned here is that aggression may be a response to frustration and this reaction may be in the form of beliefs in witchcraft. [114]

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Several studies have supported this view. Kluckhohn's analysis of the Navajo indicated the "adjustive" value of their beliefs in witchcraft for maintaining the integration and stability of the community. Prior to governmental controls, the Navajo were able to release their aggressions through warfare, but with this activity blocked, Kluckhohn found that the incidence of witchcraft accusation had increased; his entire thesis pointed to the significance of such beliefs for disposing of the personal and socially disruptive effects of aggression (1944). The Saulteaux and the Ifaluk, studied by Hallowell (1955) and Spiro (1950), respectively, displayed very little overt aggression in their social relations; yet, there were frustrating experiences in childhood and these were reflected in the covert release of aggressions through hatred and fear of supernatural forces. The early socialization of the Hopi, according to Eggan (1950) and Goldfrank (1945), was one in which frustrations were kept at a minimum, but in later childhood frustrating situations occurred frequently. Accordingly, aggressive behavior patterns of adult life were apparent in the constant Hopi "guerilla warfare" (Eggan, 1950, 234) of gossip and witchcraft accusations against neighbors.

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These examples agree on two points. First, every society, so far as we know, places certain regulations or restrictions on the individual, particularly at some time during childhood, which can be called frustrating. Second,

1 [footnote appears on p. 66 - Analyst]

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171 the consequence of such restrictions is to create aggressive tendencies that must be canalized in some culturally approved manner so that psychological and intrasocietal conflicts are minimized.

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154 Nadel takes issue with the latter point. He argues that it is a false
171 assumption "that witchcraft beliefs 'canalize' hostility or 'deflect' hostile
121 impulses into socially relatively harmless channels" (1952, 28). Presenting
114 evidence from four societies in Africa, he points out that belief in sorcerers is "conspicuously related to specific anxieties," (1952, 28) and therefore it only accentuates concrete hostilities. Though Kluckhohn, for one, would probably not have denied the "costs" of witchcraft, he did feel these were frequently stated without recognizing the potential euphoric effects of beliefs in witchcraft for the social system as a whole (1944, 67-8).

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174 The Washo provided an opportunity for an exploration of this differ-
154 ence in opinion. Since the Washo belief in the prevalence of witches changed
[178] drastically over a period of approximately 15 years, we were able to ask the question of whether the elimination of witches as objects of aggression would help solidify the society, as Nadel suggested, or would create a need for new opportunities for releasing aggressions.

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871 In addition to addressing ourselves to the function of witchcraft in
754 Washo society, we were also concerned with education, the intervening vari-
154 able between frustration and the acceptable objects of aggression. Of course, members of a society do not usually consciously employ the educational process for this purpose, and the presence of sorcerers rather than some other kind of scapegoat can only be accounted for by particular historical developments in Washo culture, but the transmission of knowledge about certain phenomena will obviously affect the possibility of their being manipulated as objects of aggression.

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756 The Washo were a fairly typical Great Basin group, according to Edgar Siskin, who visited them in the late 1930's, except for their fear of and belief in the power of shamans, which he thought achieved "an unsurpassed eminence in the Washo" (1941, 125). Lowie, after briefly visiting the Washo in 1927, observed that a correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic was prevalent in their world-view, and he relates several instances in which shamans
[683] were supposed to have been responsible for deaths. When this would happen four or five men would finally agree to murder the shaman. One of Lowie's informants believed one of the shamans, or Indian doctors, as the Washo call them, to have been "mad." "He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

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[152] applied to those Washo who had "achieved varying degrees of sophistication" (1941, 82). Elsewhere in his thesis he again says, "Every layman's testimony bristled with a cynical and resentful awareness of the grasping character of shamanistic practice" (1941, 121).

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668 Siskin's main concern was with the reasons behind the rise and decline of the Peyote Cult during his period of study and its effect on the entrenched power of the shamans. The shamans seemed to have won the battle at that time, just as they had before when confronted with the Ghost Dances of 1870 and 1890, and when any budding temporal leader had challenged their domain. Though the shamans succeeded in having the Peyote Cult leaders expelled from Dresslerville, the main all-Washo community in Nevada, their victory had the appearance of being a Pyrrhic one, and Siskin predicted a short life for them. This indeed turned out to be the case. Whereas Siskin listed 10 known shamans in 1939 (1941, 28), only one remained when we studied the Washo during the summer of 1956, and he was trusted and not feared by anyone. In other words, the sole remaining shaman was "good" as opposed to the "bad" Indian doctors who practiced witchcraft.

The shamans, except for this one, and the concomitant fear of witchcraft, had been disposed of in a number of ways. The position of the Indian doctors was challenged by the entrance of the Peyote Cult during the 1930's, the period of Siskin's (1941) and Stewart's (1944) studies. The new movement promised cures and thus struck directly at the power of the shamans. Though the effect of Peyotism was not wholly responsible for the downfall of the shamans, this encroachment undoubtedly was the beginning of their decline. A few shamans were subsequently murdered, though my informants emphasized that their deaths were made to look like accidents, and others died of
● [154] natural causes. This explicit evidence of sorcerers' being the objects of ag-
[75H] gression clearly placed the role of witchcraft beliefs among the Washo in the same category as that found among the Navajo, Hopi, Saulteaux and Ifaluk.

The fact that the shamans' ranks were not refilled can be partially attributed to their beneficial "doctoring" functions' having been taken over by the Peyote Cult leaders, who lived near Dresslerville, as well as by white doctors. Nevertheless, one of the Peyote leaders reportedly visited the remaining shaman for treatment of certain illnesses thought to be peculiarly "Indian," and several Washo were convinced that some whites as well as Indians attended either the shaman or the white doctor depending on the type of illness.
[754] But it must be remembered that no one believed this particular Indian doctor
[778] would practice witchcraft. Witchcraft, then, had literally died out, and there was little indication in 1956 that it would be revived. Even the children of the
[191] remaining shaman were thought to be unable to obtain "power" because they did not know how to speak Washo, a prerequisite for becoming a shaman.

178 668 756 [787] Scotch's informants suggested a slightly different reason for the potential failure of shamanism: "...in order to be a shaman, one has to be chosen by a visit of a supernatural being in a dream and...'powers that be' are no longer visiting the Washo" (1957, 82). The elderly Washo still believed in witchcraft, let it be understood, but they did not believe anyone continued to practice it.

177 178 756 Downs (1961, 373) has come to a different conclusion concerning the future of the shamans and it is important to quote him at length:

> "Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western Medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: 'Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?' my informant answered: 'Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers.' This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts....Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life."

178 754 756 It is not clear, however, whether such a revival of shamanism as perceived by Downs would include the attendant beliefs in witchcraft as well, for the faith in the one remaining shaman indicated that even though the Washo do not terminologically distinguish between shamans and sorcerers, they can accept the idea that a shaman may be wholly "good."

154 178 756 The demise of the shamans has a number of alternative implications for the frustration-aggression hypothesis. First, the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life. Second, aggressions formerly directed toward shamans may have been redirected into other institutionalized outlets. Finally, the aggressions may not have been adjusted to the new circumstances and have yet to find a socially acceptable manner for their release. On the other hand, given the position of Nadel, we might expect that a decrease in the fear of shamans

would foretell a greater integration of Washo society by eliminating one of the sources of manifest hostility among its members.

Considering the first alternative, there was little evidence for any decrease in the frustrating experiences encountered by a Washo; indeed, if anything, the trend was in the other direction. At the time shamans and fear of witchcraft were predominant, the experiences of childhood, as reported by Siskin, seemed to offer little restraint in the more obvious aspects of socialization. The weaning process was a gradual one that took place between the ages of one and two, and toilet training began only after the child was walking and could understand the instructions of his parents. Until that time infants were confined to cradleboards, or what the Washo call "baby baskets," though they were taken out if restive at night and were freed for short periods during the day. Following weaning, the children were treated gently and given the most tender part of the game animals until about nine years of age (Siskin, 1941, 19-20).

Washo children were taught four principal lessons of behavior: to respect their elders, to avoid fighting among themselves, to play quietly, and to refrain from boasting, lying or stealing. The approved technique for enforcing these educational tenets was "to tell them to behave and talk kindly to them." Nevertheless parents still sometimes threatened to have a delinquent carried off by a wild beast or to have his eyes picked out by an owl if he did not behave (Siskin, 1941, 20). Whipping was infrequent, as Lowie (1939, 305) had also noticed: "The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them."

For the most part, the recollections of my elderly informants were in agreement with this description of traditional child training, and they stressed the permissive upbringing given children in the past. Young boys and girls were never allowed to cry, but were attended to immediately; punishment was usually verbal rather than corporal. One man did say that if a boy continued to act very badly after he had been reprimanded, he would be thrown into ice cold water. If this did not work, then a sharply pointed stick might be thrust through his ear lobe to punish him and drive out the badness, though such an act may have been more of a threat than an actual practice. The weaning process was also thought to have been trying at times, for if a child would not give up the breast within two years, usually the time allotted before having another pregnancy, red pepper was placed on the nipple or a lizard was offered instead of the breast to frighten the child.

Notwithstanding these more severe restraints, the permissive early training period of the Washo at the times they were visited by Lowie and Siskin appeared to be comparable to the Hopi. Frustrations did not begin until later

[i.e., that the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life.--Analyst]

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"...the frustrations of daily life are a constant source of stress and conflict among the Washo. In addition, there is another factor which could be called 'powerlessness'.... By powerlessness is meant an inability to shape one's own destiny. Through a combination of contemporary circumstances, the bulk of the Washo find themselves unable to remain as they are and yet no available channel for change seems to exist."

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In accordance with the frustration-aggression hypothesis, the expected result of this growing restraint would be an increase in witchcraft beliefs and fear of shamans. Yet, as we have already mentioned, the number of shamans steadily declined until there was only one left in a small settlement near Dresslerville.

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The decreasing threat of witchcraft was clearly reflected in the education of the children. They were no longer taught to be afraid of older people because they might be harmful shamans, and illness and death were attributed to natural causes, such as tuberculosis. The pattern of parents forcing their children to stay near home for fear they would be made ill by "strangers," who might be "bad" shamans, had also broken down. In talking with about 15 children between the ages of four and 12, all except one girl believed the shaman was someone who had cured or could probably cure them if they were sick. The exception recalled that her parents had once threatened to call an Indian doctor to punish her if she did not behave. Adults believed this change in educating the young was mainly a consequence of eliminating those shamans thought to be responsible for witchcraft; if "bad" Indian doctors were no longer a threat, there was no reason to be afraid of them. In addition, the formal education of the boys and girls in integrated schools and attention to mass communication media -- particularly the movies -- must be considered as possible influences that undermined beliefs of the children in witchcraft.

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Given this situation of an increase in frustrations during childhood and an elimination of the means by which aggression was expressed in the past, the question of what had happened to the aggressive impulses of the Washo arose. How had education acted as a connecting link between increasing frustrations and the socially acceptable methods for canalizing aggressions now that witchcraft had left the scene? As far as we were able to ascertain, the connection was not being made. The Peyote Cult, which helped to dispose of the shamans, might have served as a satisfactory replacement for the expression of aggressions. For example, Merriam and d'Azevedo (1957, 617) provide several illustrations of Peyote members expressing hostility in ways reminiscent of the days when witchcraft beliefs were rampant:

"Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in 'the old way.'... Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader."

Again, Peyote singers carried on a rivalry with one another which "seems to be one means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists" (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 625).

Peyotism, however, had failed to take hold, in Dresslerville at least, by the time of our field study. The members of this community did not appear to have had sufficient time to work out effective means for redirecting their aggressions in a socially acceptable manner.

Instead the aggression was internalized, the very thing that canalization is believed able to avoid.[2] This internalization was evident in certain self-destructive activities, though in each case the evidence was questionable and may be accepted only with qualification. Such evidence includes the high incidence of heavy drinking, though a comparative measure with the 1930's was lacking; the increasing harshness of the socialization process, though "taking it out" on one's children as an indication of internalized aggression is open to question; and a decreasing interest in tribal affairs, which could be interpreted as a lack of concern by the Washo about themselves and their future. The fact that many young men had left the community may also be an indication of internal conflicts that they were unable to resolve in any satisfactory manner. Suicide, of course, would have been a clear measure of such a conclusion, but, again, records were not available for comparison between the 1930's and the time of our study.

We can thus tentatively conclude, given the nature of our evidence, that Nadel's suggestion, that witchcraft beliefs impede the integration of a society and add to the stress of social life, does not appear to hold true for the Washo case.

In this paper, the cultural changes that took place among the Washo over a 15-year period were used to support the contention that witchcraft beliefs may fulfill a positive function in displacing aggressions. Support for this conclusion was drawn from the consequences of the elimination of "bad" shamans. We also attempted to demonstrate how education may be considered as an intervening variable between frustrations and the socially acceptable means for releasing aggressions. The significance of cultural transmission from one generation to the next has always been implicit in any

[2] [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

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154 cultural study concerned with process, but the explicit investigation of education as an adjustive mechanism, as an instrument for replacing institutions with new ones in a situation of cultural change, still requires further attention. In the case of the Washo one of the functions of education had broken down, at least for the time being; aggressions were not being redirected toward acceptable scapegoat objects, nor were there opportunities to express them in any other way. The fear of witchcraft and antagonism toward sorcerers had not been replaced, and aggression had been internalized in a seemingly self-destructive fashion. The problem was epitomized in an answer given by a young boy when asked what he would like to be when he grew up. He replied, "An Indian" -- as in the movies. Whether the Washo can retain their cultural identity and still develop institutional outlets for their aggressions, or find some other means besides the self-defeating ones they had at the time we visited them, remains to be seen.

Notes

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128 1. An abridged version of this paper was read at the meeting of the Central States Anthropological Society, May, 1957. My thanks are due Alan P. Merriam for his helpful criticisms of an earlier draft of this paper.

154 2. Erikson has stated that if an individual cannot release his aggressions, they "can only turn inward to threaten the aggressor himself" (quoted in Kluckhohn, 1944, 51).

Washo society. In other words, the fact that particular Washo become alcoholics indicates certain personality problems of a stressful nature. Once having become alcoholics they are faced with further problems. Other Washo tend to look down on the alcoholics, who then become the subject of malicious gossip for giving a "bad name" to the Washo. In this way, alcoholism, which has been shown to be related to hypertension, may seem to reflect stress.

In contrast to education in white schools and alcoholism, membership in the Peyote cult is seen to be related to normal blood pressures, or an absence of hypertension. Here one can speculate that membership in the Peyote movement tends to be stress-reducing. The psychological and social functions of reform movements such as Peyote have long been noted. For example, Voget (1956, 259) states that these movements:

> ". . . perform a number of important functions in the continuing development and adjustment of the Indian. By providing Indians with a legitimate base for the evaluation of Indian ways, a new dignity and self-confidence emerges. The sense of inferiority and unworthiness which grips the Indian gives way to a bolder and more confident outlook, and he is enabled to face contemporary issues without immobilizing anxiety."

Our own observations among the Washo support Voget's contention. The Washo Peyotists did appear more stable and considerably less anxious than non-Peyotists. Thus the finding that the Peyotists have significantly less hypertension than the other Washo is of some interest.

On the basis of the limited data presented above it may be stated in summary that (1) variables related to social stress are also related to hypertension, and that (2) variables related to attempts to counteract such stresses are also related to an absence of hypertension. This interpretation must, of course, be considered tentative, particularly in view of the failure to find significant relationships between hypertension and some of the variables thought to be important, such as type and continuity of employment.

Studies of social factors in hypertension are currently underway in several societies throughout the world. It is hoped that findings from these studies shed additional light on the nature of the relationship of culture to this disease.

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484 During the 1840's and '50's, and perhaps earlier, the Washo abandoned trading or gathering trips much beyond the eastern limit of the oak trees in California. Several unpleasant encounters with white gold washers had made them feel that the entire area was extremely dangerous. However, the lure of Sacramento, where many desirable items of white manufacture, including guns, could be purchased, plus the possibility of work in the fields in post-goldrush California, caused them to begin the trans-Sierran trips again in the last quarter of the 19th century. By this time the railroads had crossed the mountains. Washo would gather near a rail station in Nevada until enough Indians to fill a boxcar were present. The railroad officials then would assign them to an empty car and take them into California, often switching the car onto a siding to serve as headquarters for the Indians. During their stay west of the Sierra, the Washo worked on farms for money and food. In addition, they picked wild crops, particularly berries, to sell to white householders. When they wished to return, the boxcar was included in an eastbound train and the Indians returned to Nevada. Despite appearances of modernity, arrangements such as this required far less readjustment of Washo life and personal outlook than the complete adoption of the horse and wagon would have.

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177 Sheep herding plays an important part in the economy of eastern Nevada, but the Washo have been involved in this activity even less than in other livestock operations. I have no record of a Washo becoming a sheep herder, and, in fact, sheep are viewed as real competitors for natural plant foods, and the introduction of sheep into the area is viewed as a catastrophe. Most of the herds are owned by Basques, and a regular increment of Basque sheep herders is admitted to the United States to care for the animals. It is [517] interesting to note that in the summer of 1959 the most popular motion picture in the Gardnerville theatre, and the one most enthusiastically viewed by Indians and whites, was an imaginative epic describing the progress of a Basque wagon train through Indian country.

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231 The identification of the white man with his animals is suggested in a late 19th century newspaper account of a young Washo who went on a
579 "rampage" after an altercation with a white man. Rather than threatening or
● 154 attacking white people, the Washo killed several dairy cattle belonging to a white farmer.

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231 The material presented in the previous pages is sparse, because the history of Washo response to the animal husbandry complex introduced by the white man has been negligible. The response of the Washo was minimal and included only the most superficial aspects of the complex such as learning to ride and drive horses and acquisition of the minimum skills needed to maintain the animals. Husbandry, in the sense of learning the skills and attitudes needed to raise and maintain livestock, never found a place in the Washo way of life.

the hunter or more particularly to the hunter's medicine. Moreover, musége is also applied to men who displayed aggressive power as hunters, warriors or in modern times, men who are bad-tempered. Finally, musége is the common Washo term used in reference to the most powerful and dangerous and inexplicable of animals, the white man. By extension the attitude appears to cover also the white man's livestock -- large, often dangerous animals that destroy wild plant foods, and for whose control are required new (and difficult to acquire) skills. The Indian's fear of domestic animals when he was first confronted with horses and cattle is clear from Cortez's invasion of the 16th century to the Blackfeet in the 18th and 19th centuries (Ewers, 1955), and the Pit River tribes of the 1860's and 70's, (de Angulo, 1950). If we recall that Washo enmity toward white men -- the commercial sheep grazers who lease the pinenut allotment lands, for instance -- is apt to be couched in terms of hostility toward the sheep rather than the sheep herder, we see yet another extension of this admittedly vague but nonetheless real identification of animals and men. In short, the white man and his animals appear never to have been clearly distinguished from one another. Moreover the ritual or magical skills of aboriginal Washo life, which enabled the Washo to deal with the native fauna, were of no use in dealing with domestic livestock. One cannot view a sheep or cow or horse as semisacred and at the same time carry out the tasks necessary to the proper conduct of husbandry. At this point the example of Hindu India, where the cow is considered so sacred that the millions of bovines on the subcontinent cannot contribute their full potential to the welfare of human society, may help illustrate the point I am attempting to make about the Washo. Essentially what has happened in the Washo case is that the Washo have not succeeded in making a clear distinction between domestic animals and wild animals, and therefore, have not been able to adjust their own behavior in terms of domestic-wild categories. This failure to draw these distinctions has made it difficult for the Washo to undertake any real husbandry activities.

However, in the final paragraphs of this paper, it might be well to see exactly what the Washo have or have not rejected. Clearly the Washo have not rejected or failed to incorporate domestic livestock. The Washo language borrowed or developed words for all the more common domestic animals. The Washo willingly eats beef, veal, pork, bacon or ham, although he tends to reject mutton and lamb. There are within Washo culture clear-cut patterns of behavior that direct actions concerning domestic animals. Moreover, in the recent past many Washo developed the skill necessary to ride and drive horses, although this skill was soon lost with the invention of the automobile. What the Washo failed to develop were the attitudes and skills necessary for animal husbandry as distinguished from "domestication" or "domestic animals."